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**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

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### PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in January 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

David, Steven R. "Coups and Anti-Coups." The Washington Quarterly, vol. 5 (Autumn 1982), pp. 189-201.

A somewhat naive policy recommendation in favor of increased anticoup activity by the United States on behalf of "vital" friends in the Third World. The African cases discussed, in which foreign intervention was able to reverse coups, are Ethiopia (intervention by the United States in 1960), Gabon (by France in 1964), Sudan (by Libya and Egypt in 1971), and Gambia (by Senegal and the United Kingdom in 1981). David recommends that the United States "must improve its intelligence capabilities in the Third World, especially in the areas of human intelligence, and establish ties with allied intelligence agencies in the area." He observes further that "regimes wishing to survive coup attempts must provide for the protection of the leadership" and should station units outside their borders which can be rushed home in emergencies. Hardly a well thought out analysis.

Kitchen, Helen. "Six Misconceptions of Africa." The Washington Quarterly, vol. 5 (Autumn 1982), pp. 167-74.

The author attempts to disprove prominent conceptions about Africa. She asserts that Africa is not a pawn of the East-West conflict, since France in the Mitterrand era is the most influential external power in Africa. The author counters the assertion that the Soviet Union is engaged in a "total onslaught" against South Africa. She also discusses the fragmentation of the OAU and the role of ethical leadership surrounding populist movements.

Soudan, Francois. "L'Armee de Mitterrand en Afrique (Mitterrand's Army in Africa)." Jeune Afrique, 15 December 1982, pp. 24-28.

A detailed assessment of French military involvement in Africa including a map of major French bases and estimates of French military personnel strengths. French involvement in Africa has increased since the Socialist administration assumed power in Paris, and an intervention on the scale of Shaba, Zaïre, is not inconceivable. The recent Franco-Senegalese military maneuvers along the Mauritanian border brought objections from Algeria which saw them as a threat to the Polisario of Western Sahara. These maneuvers saw the first use of some new French military equipment.

"South Africa Blamed in Oil Depot Bombing." Africa News, 3 January 1983, pp. 7 and 10.

The Mozambican Government has arrested a British citizen suspected of aiding South Africa in a recent raid against a large fuel depot in Beira. However, the MRM claimed responsibility for the raid and stated that it was directed as much against Zimbabwe as against the Marxist government in Maputo. Despite this, the Maputo regime accuses South Africa of backing the MRM and carrying out raids into Mozambique.

"South Africa's Grip Tightens." African Economic Digest, 17 December 1982, pp. 34-35.

Despite efforts by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to lessen dependence on South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho are more closely tied to South Africa than ever before. These three countries rely most heavily on South Africa for import and export markets. And all three countries are members of the South African-dominated Southern African Customs Union. In addition, South Africa's excellent transport infrastructure continues to serve as an important conduit for much of southern Africa's mineral exports. South Africa's support for insurgency groups in Mozambique and Zimbabwe make these countries more easily influenced by South Africa than either country would like to admit.

"Southern Africa: War and Drought Deepen Economic Gloom." Africa Economic Digest, 17 December 1982, pp. 32-33.

Successful guerrilla strikes against key economic installations in Angola and Mozambique and widespread drought in Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana have undermined recent economic gains in southern Africa. In addition, the region is suffering from falling world mineral prices, and is behind in developing its important rail infrastructure. Namibian independence still is to be negotiated.

"Widening War in Southern Africa." Africa News, 3 January 1983, pp. 1-3 and 11.

December 1982 saw considerable military and diplomatic activity in southern Africa. South African forces raided southern Angola, Mozambique, and Lesotho; South Africa itself was the victim of terrorist activity. Concurrently, South African diplomats were meeting with Angolan and Mozambican officials to discuss developments in southern Africa. In addition, US officials were meeting with Angolan, Mozambican, and Soviet officials concerning Namibia, Cuban troops in Angola, etc.

#### ANGOLA

Ramnaud, Marie-Christine. "Angola: Ouverture sans exclusive (Opening Without Exclusivity)." Afrique, August 1983, pp. 72-73.

Because of the magnitude of Angola's needs as it rebuilds its economy, the Luanda regime virtually has opened up trading to both East and West. Despite Angola's close political ties with the Soviet Union, trade agreements and contracts have been signed recently with France, Brazil, Portugal, Japan, and Italy, and as soon as the Namibian issue is resolved, there is little question that Angola will welcome US trade, technology, and aid.

#### CHAD

Hollick, Julian Crandall. "Civil War in Chad, 1978-1982." The World Today, July-August 1982, pp. 287-304.

Important and detailed highlights of the lengthy Chad civil war up to mid-1982. Libya's and France's roles in 1981-82 are analyzed, as well as the attempt by the OAU to bring about an "African solution."

ETHIOPIA

"Ethiopia's Hidden War: The Oromo Liberation Struggle." Horn of Africa, vol. 5, no. 1 (1982), pp. 62-66.

An interview with a member of the Central Committee of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) which is engaged in an armed struggle to liberate the Oromos from Amhara political domination and economic exploitation. Oromos are estimated to make up 60 percent of Ethiopia's population. Ethiopia's land reforms have not improved the lot of Oromo peasants: "individual Amhara landlordism has been replaced by collective Amhara landlordism." The OLF does not receive aid from any foreign government; weapons and ammunition are obtained by capturing Ethiopian army supplies. OLF attempts to coordinate its activities with the WSLF have not been reciprocated.

GHANA

Jeffries, R. "Ghana: Jerry Rawlings ou Un Populisme a Deux Coups (Ghana: Jerry Rawlings, or A Populism Twice Around)." Politique Africaine, December 1982, pp. 9-20.

"Neo-marxism" is employed to describe the philosophy of many ideologs in Rawlings' Provisional National Defense Council who seek to reinstill morality, to destroy the Ghanaian "kleptocracy," and to better the lives of the masses of Ghanaians. Rawlings so far has held back from employing a high level of authoritarian rule to implement his policies which remain populist rather than revolutionary.

KENYA

"Moi Seems to Be Charting New Path." Weekly Review (Nairobi), 24 September 1982, pp. 5-9.

Speculates that President Moi is charting a new course for Kenya's government structure and economy. He made a major policy statement on the economy recently in which he outlined methods to solve the country's foreign exchange crisis. Although most of the proposals are not new and no real structural changes are called for, there is now a real chance that the policies will be implemented rather than merely remaining on paper as in the past. Major reorganization and streamlining of the government machinery can also be anticipated. Moi also appears to be trying to alter the image that he consults with and relies extensively on his cabinet members. Since the 1 August coup attempt, he has increasingly distanced himself from government ministers.

"Moi Tightens His Grip." Africa News, 13 December 1982, pp. 9-11.

Three phases in the Kenyan Government's response to the 1 August coup attempt are identified in this article. The first reaction was to disband the Air Force and detain its members. The authorities decided to treat the uprising as a mutiny rather than an attempt to bring down the government. Courts-martial were set up to try the airmen. Next the government began to intimate

that there had been a plot against President Moi; there have been several treason convictions. In a third phase, the government has moved against university students and faculty, and closed the University of Nairobi. A far-reaching cabinet reshuffle and purge of the civil service is expected next.

LESOTHO

"Lesotho: Violence Again On The Rise." Africa News, 29 November 1982, pp. 3-4.

The Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), guerrilla wing of the banned Basotholand Congress Party (BCP), continues to carry out terrorist raids against the government of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan. The government accuses the LLA of working with the South Africans; it also is trying to organize an effective anti-BCP grassroots organization.

"Lesotho Vows To Resist Pressure on ANC." Africa News, 3 January 1982, pp. 5-6.

On 9 December 1982, approximately 100 South African soldiers staged a raid against supposed ANC guerrillas in Maseru. The United Nations Security Council immediately condemned South Africa's actions. Only Transkei and Ciskei openly supported the South African raid. Despite South Africa's economic and military clout over tiny Lesotho, the Maseru government has openly stated that it will continue to provide refuge to those fleeing South Africa's racist policies.

MALI

Bessagnet, Michel. "~~Au Bagne de Taoudenit Tout le Monde Creve~~ (At the Penal Colony of Taoudenit Everyone Perishes)." Africa (Dakar), April 1982, pp. 41.

A description of conditions at the Malian penal colonies of Taoudenit and Kidal in northeastern Mali, deep in the Sahara Desert, where political prisoners, including striking teachers and students, have been sent by the Traore government. Few survivors return to tell about conditions there. Amnesty International refers to these as "Special Reeducation Camps." Because of particularly harsh conditions, provisions do not always reach the camps, and guards treat prisoners as they wish.

MAURITANIA

"Mauritania: Staying Out of Trouble." Africa Confidential, 20 January 1982, pp. 1-4.

Sees the interlude of relative tranquility in Noaukchott as the proverbial calm preceding a new series of political sandstorms. On the political front, President Heydalla is faced with ongoing infighting between the principal civilian political currents and their allies in the armed forces and abroad. Regional politics are expected to worsen before improving.

NAMIBIA

Cooper, Allan D. U.S. Economic Power and Political Influence in Namibia, 1700-1982. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982, 222 pp.

A critical historical look at US economic interests primarily in Namibia and to a lesser extent in South Africa. The author concludes that despite the US Government's verbal support for an independent Namibia and an end to apartheid in southern Africa, US economic interests have backed the current regime and continue to exploit Namibia's mineral wealth.

Kintner, William R. "Namibia: An Alternate Solution." International Security Review, vol. 6, no. 4 (Winter 1981-82), pp. 533-52.

In this pro-South African, anti-SWAPO article, the author presents South Africa as the "wronged party" in the present quest for Namibian independence; he portrays SWAPO as a "Soviet-backed, ambitious, greedy, and uncompromising" organization. In sum, Kintner proposes that the present area of South-West Africa be divided into two independent countries--Ovamboland and Namibia. He argues that Ovamboland is geographically and ethnically distinct from the rest of the country. The author also portrays the DTA as a reasonable and "ethnically-concerned" group which has been much maligned by SWAPO.

"Pretoria Gives Mudge Three More Months." Africa News, 29 November 1982, pp. 1-2.

Pretoria no longer sees Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) as a viable alternative to a SWAPO victory in Namibia. Consequently, the South African leadership has decided to replace Mudge with a more popular candidate, possibly Peter Kalangula. However, the South Africans have not as yet finalized their plans, and they have decided to continue to support Mudge for at least the next 3 months.

NIGER

Mamane, Koffi. "L'Atout Minier (The Mining Trump Card)." Afrique-Asie, 22 November 1982, pp. 25-27.

An evaluation of the mining sector of Niger. In spite of a strict policy of development based on agricultural self-sufficiency, much depends on Niger's ability to market its uranium to Western countries. This dependence on prices fixed by the world market poses a serious threat to development plans.

NIGERIA

Nicolas, Guy. "Contradictions d'Un Parti Revolutionnaire: Le PRP Nigerian (Contradictions Within a Revolutionary Party: The Nigerian PRP)." Politique Africaine, December 1982, pp. 75-102.

The history of politics in Northern Nigeria is outlined in this analysis of the People's Redemption Party of Nigeria. The evolution of the PRP within



the context of Northern Nigerian Islam as well as its links to a Marxist-Leninist ideology are discussed. The author sees a basic contradiction between the reformist, populist aims of the party and Marxism--on the one hand a vanguard and on the other a redeptor movement--two incompatible orientations which generally tear each other apart. Very timely in its analysis of politics in Kano and Kaduna states, the article also provides information on leading Nigerian Marxists.

#### SENEGAL

Kiba, Simon. "La Voix de la Democratie (The Voice of Democracy)." Bingo, January 1983, pp. 16-17.

A paeen for Senegalese democracy and a discussion of the coming February elections for president and National Assembly delegates. However, the most important aspect is the analysis of the role of Muslim organizations and their attitudes toward the elections. The author urges Muslims to vote according to their consciences. He deplores calls for the establishment of a Khumayni-style Islamic Republic.

#### SOMALIA

FitzGibbon, Louis. The Betrayal of the Somalis. London: Rex Collins, 1982. Reviewed in Middle East International, 23 December 1982, p. 18.

The reviewer claims "this is yet another propaganda book making a case for another downtrodden nation, written (not very accurately or elegantly) by a devoted champion of national freedoms. . . ." It provides a sketchy history of Somalia, describing the "dispicable tale of betrayal" by the British, Italians, and French at the end of the 19th century and the current aggression by Ethiopia, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. The author gives an unlikely recommendation for resolving the injustices. An initiative by the British, French, and Italians, he suggests, could bring about self-determination for the Somalis.

"The Transfer of Power in Somalia." Horn of Africa, vol. 5, no. 1 (1982), pp. 35-61.

This article, written by a newly formed group calling itself concerned Somalis, calls on President Barre to step down, senior Somali officials to resign, and opposition groups to declare national rather than regional programs. The Concerned Somalis do not propose to engage in armed opposition and do not want to compete with existing opposition groups. They criticize the existing opposition groups for being polarized along clan lines to such an extent that they are unable to form a united front effectively to challenge Barre's authority. The article claims that terminating Barre's regime is a national duty; allowing his policies to continue will lead to the social, economic, and political disintegration of the country. Many examples are given of how Barre's policies, rather than solving problems of regional strife and corruption, have institutionalized them.

SOUTH AFRICA

Hitchcock, Bob. "The Apartheid War Machine." New African, November 1982, p. 39.

An overall analysis of South Africa's military potential. Particular attention is given to two locally-made pieces of equipment--the new G-6 (a mobile 155-mm cannon) and South Africa's 127-mm multiple rocket launcher. Also looks at ARMCOR's production capabilities. Hitchcock states that South Africa's three paratroop battalions are ranked superior to their American counterparts and on a par with the British and "the cream of Warsaw Pact paratroops." Concludes by stating that despite all this heavy equipment and capabilities, the ANC and other guerrilla groups are slowly wearing down apartheid's forces.

"Koeberg Sabotage Brings Cabinet Session." Africa News, 3 January 1983, pp. 4-5 and 11.

During a 12-hour period from December 18 to 19, four explosions rocked the South African Koeberg nuclear facility near Cape Town. Although the South Africans have stated that no serious damage was done to the plant, the successful raid was a great propaganda coup for the ANC. As a result of the raid, the South African cabinet was called into a special meeting. The ANC got a good deal of publicity for having penetrated one of South Africa's most sensitive areas. And the long-term future for South Africa's nuclear power development has been put into question.

"South Africa: Mandela: 'Every Black Home A Political Institution'." Africa News, 29 November 1982, pp. 6-8.

An interview with Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned President of the banned African National Congress (ANC). Ms. Mandela, one of South Africa's most outspoken critics of apartheid, talks about her experience as a black woman in South Africa; she also briefly talks about the Pan-African Congress (PAC), a splinter group from the ANC.

SUDAN

"Secessionists Take Up Arms." Africa, August 1982, pp. 38-39.

Armed secessionists in Southern Sudan are again becoming a security problem, especially since the reemergence of the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement in 1980. The secessionist movement regained momentum that year when the government announced that the refinery for the South's oil was to be built at Kosti in the North. In June 1982, two prominent government officials in Southern Sudan were arrested for allegedly helping to arm the secessionists. If the economic situation in the South does not improve, the secessionist movement is likely to gain more and more followers.

UPPER VOLTA

Fie, San. "Pourquoi les Capitaines. . . (Why Did the Captains. . .)." Afrique-Asie, 22 November 1982, pp. 11-13.

An examination of the role of low ranking military personnel in Upper Volta's politics, especially the part played by the leaders of the coup d'etat which overthrew the previous government. Civilian political forces appear unable to lead, and military governments risk isolating themselves. The precarious economy of the country leaves little room for any government, military or civilian, to maneuver. The traditional role of the Mossi emperor and of the dominant Mossi ethnic group in Upper Volta's politics is also examined as an important factor in government stability.

ZIMBABWE

"Follies of the Fifth Brigade." The Economist, 30 October 1982, pp. 48-49.

Points out many of the abuses against civilians carried out by Zimbabwe's supposed crack Fifth Brigade. In addition, the author describes incidents of torture and illegal arrest in Zimbabwe. Leaves the reader wondering what all this means in the long run for the average Zimbabwean.

"Zimbabwe: Learning to Live With Reality." Africa Economic Digest, 14 December 1983, pp. 33-34.

Following 2 years of impressive economic growth (in excess of 10 percent a year), Zimbabwe must face some hard economic realities. The initial enthusiasm following independence has subsided somewhat. Now Zimbabwe must deal with falling mineral prices, drought, the economic weakness of neighboring countries, growing foreign debts, and the failure to reach an early trade agreement with South Africa. However, Prime Minister Mugabe's continuing emphasis on private sector development and renewed international interest in Zimbabwe's economic potential could work to counter the negative aspects of Zimbabwe's current economic situation.